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for power and the intruding sense of moral responsibility, a bridge has been built which we call Reason of State—a recognition of the parallelism of the actual and ideal, the instinctive and the rational. The natural and the spiritual meet in a middle zone. The goal is in the highest degree ethical—the welfare of the community; but the means of reaching it are sometimes coarse and elemental. Thus, to obey the dictates of *raison d'état* is to oscillate between light and darkness. The ambition of the ruler is harnessed to the requirements of the ruled, and he is transformed into the servant of his own might. There is a gulf between the state and all other human organizations ; for, while the latter must always strive to follow ideal standards, the former must sometimes sin. Here is the most tragic aspect of history—that the radical moralization of mankind is impossible, and that the state, which is the parent and guardian of law, cannot always be bound by its behests. * For the state is amphibious, living at one and the same time in the ethical and the natural worlds. The conflict is eternal, for neither of the combatants will ever yield.

It is Hegel who gives the highest testimonials to Machiavelli and comes nearest to accepting his conclusions. While the moralists had wrung their hands over the antagonism between the ideal and the actual, he knocks down the partition and denies the conflict between policy and morals. The state, we read in *The Philosophy of Law*, is the realized ethical idea. It is an end in itself and has no higher duty than to maintain itself. In his pregnant formula, the real is the rational and the rational is the real. It is Spinoza's pantheism adapted to the political plane. At first blush this looks as if in Hegel's eyes

the struggle has ended by the capitulation of one of the combatants; and Meinecke, in a forceful phrase, compares his patronage of Machiavelli to the legitimization of a bastard. A familiar witticism suggested that he mistook the Kingdom of Prussia for the Kingdom of Heaven. The balance is to some extent redressed by the ethical colouring in the picture. A state, he declares, is bound together, not by force but by a deep-rooted instinct of order. It is a spiritual structure, the highest embodiment of reason. In his famous phrase, world history is progress in the consciousness of liberty. For this homage to reality was not to a static condition but to an evolutionary process. In his doctrine of the relation of states to one another, however, he sheds these draperies. The state,